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PEACE.

"How beautiful upon the mountains, are the feet of him that bringeth glad tidings that publisheth Peace."—ISAIAH, LII., v. 7.

An article entitled, "Some of the Reasons why I am Opposed to the Present War," appeared in the Journal of Commerce of 1st July, 1861—before a change had taken place in the proprietorship of that paper. The article is republished now, because it will make a suitable appendix to the present paper, and also, because the time has come "to take an observation."

Christmas suggests our subject—"Peace on earth, and good will to men."

Yes! we write for Peace—that, for this distracted and well nigh ruined land

> "No more the thirsty Erynnis of the soil,
> "Shall daub her lips with her own children's blood;
> "No more shall trenched war channel her fields,
> "Nor bruise her flowers with the armed hoof
> "Of hostile paces."

With Peace, we desire the restoration of the Union, if that great blessing can yet be obtained, but we are, at all events, for Peace—an early, honorable Peace. Whatever

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war may accomplish for dissolution and despotism, in Peace alone is there any hope for the United States of America.

In this unnatural strife enough blood has been shed, enough loss and suffering inflicted, to glut the fiercest disposition. The power that has been exercised ; the money that has been squandered ; the preferments that have been bestowed, ought to appease the most voracious appetite. But, "there are three things," saith Solomon, "which are never satisfied." Had he lived till our day he might have added to the number. What will abate the rapacity of an army of contractors ; the importunity of an army of place hunters ? What will satisfy the intolerance of a cruel faction ; the cravings of unscrupulous ambition ? Nothing ! We do not propose to address any such people. The association would be disagreeable, and the labor certainly wasted. We do, with confidence, address those who refuse to bow down to Baal, or to worship the image that Nebuchadnezzar has set up ; those who "love the things that make for Peace;" who are at heart sick of this war; of the wickedness and incompetency it has disclosed ; of the profligacy and crime it has engendered ; of the horrors that everywhere follow in its train ; those who are unwilling longer to see the country abandoned to the ruinous experiments of a wild and reckless party ; those who value the rights of an American citizen, who view the rapid strides of military despotism with jealousy and apprehension ; who are unwilling that personal liberty should any longer be held subject to the impertinent tyranny of every Jack in office, or that the Bastile should supersede the Jury box, and the novel pretensions of martial law annul the law of the land.

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Against the voice of Peace a great outcry will of course be raised by those who have a direct pecuniary, political or *pious* interest in prolonging the war; by those who, for years, have labored to bring about the present condition of things; by those who are at all times ready to sell our birthright, fellow citizens, for their miserable mess of African pottage. We will not be disturbed by their clamor, nor denunciations, nor threats, nor even by their violence. Calmly and freely we will consider the matter, for ourselves, and for those who are to come after us. They will bellow out "Treason," "Traitor," with all the variations. Those terms have been quite honored lately, and an honest man may now accept them without reproach, if not without apprehension. A good while ago, one Doctor Samuel Johnson sarcastically defined patriotism as "the last refuge of a scoundrel." The world changes, but men and morals remain substantially the same. Our accusers, having monopolized all the patriotism of the land, share it with none, except their confederates and tools.

"But," say they, "treat with rebels! Peace with rebels! No terms for rebels, but unconditional submission?" Yes, Treat! and Peace, and Terms; ye lifelong rebels against God's righteous government, daily dependents on His goodness and mercy, by all your hopes of salvation, yes! And ye say the Lord's Prayer doubtless, "Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us," and sing, with lifted eyes,

> "That mercy I to others show,
> That mercy show to me."

and have no fear of judgment, but thank God that ye are not as other men. "Upon what meat hath this, our Cæsar fed, that he hath grown so great?" Have ye forgotten

"that your father was an Amorite, and your mother a Hittite;" that ye are the children of rebels against "the best Government that ever existed?"

But "Rebels have no rights." The saying is somewhat stale. Vattel's comment on it is: "the language of flatterers and wicked rulers!" We will say no more lest the spirits of our noble ancestors should be scandalised by the discussion.

"Unconditional submission!" They would not be their father's children should they render it; you would despise them if they did; you well know that such terms are impossible, and therefore you insist upon them.

The separation of the Colonies from the mother country was a forced separation. The treaty of Peace which terminated the contest, acknowledged the United States, each State by itself, severally named, "to be free, sovereign and independent States." The subsequent Union of those States, under the present Constitution, was voluntary, each State, in the final act of ratification, acting by itself and for itself. A compulsory Union would not have been tolerated, could not have been formed.

The purposes for which that Union was established are fully disclosed in the preamble to the Constitution. "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, *insure domestic tranquility*, provide for the common defence, *promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity*, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

The preamble, is as much a part of the Constitution as any article in it—the Sacramental clause—

the key to the whole instrument. It declares the objects of the Union. Those objects were the inducements to the contract, without which it would never have been entered into. When those inducements fail, the contract ceases.

Let us suppose that, after a full and fair trial, the Union is found not "to establish justice," nor "to insure domestic tranquility," nor "to provide for the common defence," nor "to promote the general welfare," nor "to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity," nor "to form a more perfect union," must it, nevertheless, continue to bind the parties—the living to the dead? Assuredly not. Now, all, or nearly all, of this is affirmed by the South against the Union. After years of agitation and vain attempts to be made secure against the alleged wrongs and injuries, believing that her difficulties and dangers increase continually, and that her relative means of resistance continually diminish, she has resorted to extreme measures, which all, save a wicked faction, equally deplore, but which all are not equally disposed to condemn.

If the complaints of the South are just and reasonable; if she sincerly believes that redress and protection can be obtained in no other way, she has done right—otherwise she has done wrong. Good faith, as parties to the contract; the great vested interests of the whole country; the cause of freedom, and the necessities of social order forbid that any Government, and especially this Republican Government of ours, should hold its lease of life by the frail tenure of caprices; or unreasonable complaints; or petty interests; or speculative and fanciful dangers. Is it at all probable that such insubstantial motives have governed the

South, and directed the course she has taken ? We think not.

There always have been and always will be, in every country, a class of people whose element is turmoil and distraction ; vain, noisy, selfish demagogues, of one idea, restless, ambitious and unscrupulous persons, who seek to promote discord, strife and revolution, that they may live and fatten thereby ; but all such, however important in their circle, club or district, are powerless against the basis of society, unless the popular will and interest direct the blow. Society is no fool. It knows when it is well treated and where its advantage lies. There is not an instance of a people rising up against a good Government and throwing it off, but there are many instances of their patience and long suffering, under every species of bad Government. "All experience hath shown, that mankind "are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than "to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which "they are accustomed." (See Declaration of Independence.) Says Alex. Hamilton, in a speech before the New York Convention for the ratification of the Constitution : "We "have been told that the old Confederation has proved "inefficacious, only because intriguing and powerful men "have been forever instigating the people, and rendering "them dissatisfied with it. This, sir, is a false insinuation. "The thing is impossible. I will venture to assert that no "combination of designing men under Heaven, will be "capable of making a good Government unpopular." (Elliot's Deb. v. ii. p 253.)

To the great mass of the Southern people Secession was a disagreeable step, taken reluctantly, with a heavy heart, and a continual hoping that something might occur

which would enable them to retrace their course. Had a wise and conciliatory policy been promptly adopted, with a proper show of strength and resolution to protect the right, every one of the Southern States might have been brought peaceably back, and the Union restored to more than its former greatness and stability. We chose a different method, and invoked the spirit of coercion. The first peal of an hostile bugle, as it echoed along the hills and valleys of Virginia, awoke the United South with a shock as inevitable as that which flashed upon the colonies when the news ran that British troops had marched on Lexington and Concord. The first invasion of Southern soil was sealed with blood ;—blood and destruction have followed it ever since. Fellow citizens, this is not the land, nor is liberty the tree to bear coercion, other than the coercion of law.

Against all this we hear no logical answer. The grand argument is : " The best Government that ever existed." So it is, for us of the North, and always has been. We have had Peace in all our borders ; domestic tranquility has been insured ; nobody has meddled with our affairs, or attempted to dictate to us what we should do or not do; we have not been disturbed in our persons and in our property, and the highest blessings of liberty have been ours, fully to enjoy, without molestation. With the people of the South it has not been so. They have not had Peace in all their borders, nor has domestic tranquility been insured to them. Nor have they enjoyed the highest blessings of liberty without molestation. These many years we have been intermeddling with them—attending to their affairs quite as much as we have attended to our own, if not a little more. We have given them no rest,day nor night,

in their possessions; or their comfort ; or their reputation ; or their personal safety. In the proper exercise of undoubted right, we have denied, or thwarted and crossed them in every possible way. We have vexed them continually with harsh, insulting, and abusive language, using the vilest epithets, the bitterest denunciations. Had they been a race of pirates, robbers, and outlaws—the refuse of the earth, we could not have said more against them than we have said. By teachings of the pulpit, the lecture room, the school, and the fireside, a generation has been taught to hate them. It has learned the lesson well, and, in its ignorance, verily believes that *Southern Chivalry* is but another term for lust and cruelty, pride, arrogance and irreligion. Could such a state of things continue forever ? It was impossible ! "A house divided against itself cannot stand." The South finally concluded that, notwithstanding the great advantages of the Union, it was not the *best* Government for them.

We are told that "the Government did not do these things." A Government of negative virtues only, is but half a Government, if so much as that. It will not answer to say merely, that Government *does* no wrong. If it is powerless to prevent wrong it is radically defective. A Government which fails to secure, to any portion of its people, the enjoyment of their material rights and interests, is not a good Government to them, whatever it may be to others.

> "What care I, how fair she be,
> If she be not fair to me."

At this point of the discussion we shall be told that "Slavery is the cause of all the trouble—only do away with that, and everything will go well." With greater propriety might a

highwayman make the like complaint against my purse; because, he breaks no faith with me, never gave a pledge, nor received a compensation; he never enjoyed my hospitality, nor profited by my labor, nor swore eternal friendship; and finally, because, you impiously, rob, *for "Christ's sake;"* he, very devoutly, for his own.

Had the people of this country always acknowledged the right of a State to secede for cause, as a revolutionary right; had they realized the possibility of such an occurrence and the consequences of it; all, North and South, would have been under bonds to keep the peace, which would not have been broken. There would have been no Secession, no dissolution, no war.

The idea of sustaining the Union by force, is of modern date. We propose briefly to examine it by the old lights; by the authority of the Federal Convention, and the opinions of the leading men of that day, who were prominent members of that Convention, and very influential in establishing the Government.

In the Convention, the plan of the Constitution under discussion contained a clause authorising the Government "to call forth the forces of the Union against any member of the Union failing to fulfill its duties under the articles thereof." When this clause came up for debate, Mr. Madison observed, that "the more he reflected on the use of force, the "more he doubted the practicability, the justice and the "efficacy of it, when applied to the people collectively and "not individually; a Union of the States containing such an "ingredient seemed to provide for its own destruction. "The use of force against a State would look more like a "declaration of war than an infliction of punishment, and "would probably be considered by the party attacked as a

"dissolution of all compacts by which it might be bound. "He had hoped such a system might be framed as might "render that recourse unnecessary, and moved that the "clause be postponed." The motion was agreed to *nem con.* (See Madison Papers, p 761, [v. ii.])

By the same: "Any Government for the United States, "founded on the supposed probability of using force "against the unconstitutional proceedings of the States, "would prove visionary and fallacious as the government "of Congress." (Ib, p 822, [v. ii.])

Again: "The clause to subdue rebellion in any State, on "the application of its Legislature," was next considered.

"Mr. Pinckney moved to strike out 'on the application "of its Legislature.' Mr. Governeur Morris seconded.

"Mr. Luther Martin opposed 'as giving a dangerous and "unnecessary power. The consent of the States ought to "precede the introduction of any extraneous force "whatever.'

"Mr. Mercer supported the proposition of Mr. Martin.

"Mr. Oliver Ellsworth proposed to add after 'Legisla- "ture,' 'or Executive.'

"Mr. Morris: 'The Executive may possibly be at the head "of the Rebellion.'

"Mr. Ellsworth: 'In many cases the General Govern- "ment ought not to be able to interpose, unless called "upon. He was willing to vary his motion, so as to "read 'or without it when the Legislature cannot meet.''

"Mr. Eldridge Gerry was 'against letting loose the myr- "midons of the United States on a State, without its own "consent. The States will be the best judges in such "cases.'

"Mr. Langdon was 'for striking out, as moved by Mr.

"Pinckney. The apprehension of the National force will "have a salutary effect in preventing insurrection.'

"Mr. Edmund Randolph: 'If the National Legislature "is to be the judge whether the State Legislature can or "cannot meet, that amendment will make the clause as "objectionable as the motion of Mr. Pinckney.'

"Mr. Morris: 'We are acting a very strange part. We first "form a strong man to protect us, and at the same time "wish to tie his hands behind him. The Legislature may "surely be trusted with such a power to preserve the pub-"lic tranquility.'

"On the motion to add to, 'on the application of its "Legislature,' 'or without it when the Legislature cannot "meet,' it was agreed to, 5 to 3.

"Mr. Madison and Mr. Dickenson moved to insert, as "explanatory after, 'State' 'against the Government there-"of;' 'there might be rebellion against the United States.' "Agreed to, *nem con.*

"On the clause as amended, the vote stood, 4 to 4—so it "was lost. The delegates from Mass. and Pa. were ab-"sent. On the printed Journal, Mass. is stated as having "voted in the negative. (Madison papers pp. 1349, 50, 51, [v. iii.])

"Mr. Dickenson moved to strike out 'on the application "of the Legislature, against.' He thought it of essen-"tial importance to the tranquility of the United States, "that they should, in all cases, suppress domestic violence "which may proceed from the Legislature itself, or from "disputes between the two branches, when such exist.' On "the question, ayes 3, nays 8.

"Mr. Dickenson moved to insert the words 'or Executive'

"after the words, 'application of its Legislature.' Ayes 8, "nays 2, (Ib. pp. 1466, 67, 68.)

"On the question on the clause as amended—ayes 9, "nays 2."

The clause as adopted is as follows: "The United "States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Re- "publican form of Government, and shall protect each of "them against invasion, and, *on application of the Legis- "lature, or of the Executive*, (when the Legislature cannot "be convened) *against domestic violence.*" (See Con. U.S. Art. iv. Sec. 4.)

The Constitution, as adopted, was sent to the several States for ratification. The States called their several Conventions. In those Conventions the instrument was thoroughly discussed and criticised, previous to its adoption.

In the Convention of New York, Mr. Lansing, a member: "I know not if History furnishes an example of a Con- "federated Republic coercing the States composing it, by "the mild influence of Law, operating on the individuals "of those States. It, is, therefore, I suppose, to be "a new experiment in politics." (Elliot's Deb. v. ii., p. 221.)

Mr. Alexander Hamilton, a member, and a delegate to the Federal Convention: "It has been observed, to coerce "the States, is one of the maddest projects that was ever "devised. A failure of compliance will never be confined "to a single State. This being the case, can we suppose "it wise to hazard a civil war? What a picture does this "present to our view. A complying State at war with a "non-complying State. Congress marching the troops of "one State into the bosom of another. This State collect- "ing auxilliaries, and forming, perhaps, a majority against "the Federal head. Here is a nation at war with itself.

"Can any man be well disposed towards a Government "which makes war and carnage the only means of sup- "porting itself; a Government that can exist only by the "sword? Every such war must involve the innocent with "the guilty. This single consideration should be sufficient "to dispose every peaceable citizen against such a Govern- "ment. *But can we believe that one State will suffer it- "self to be used as an instrument of coercion? The thing "is a dream. It is impossible!*" (Ib. v. ii., p. 232.)

In the Convention of Connecticut, Mr. Oliver Ellsworth, a member and a delegate to the Federal Convention: "Thus "we see, how necessary for the Union is a coercive force. "The only question is: Shall it be a coercion of Law, or "a coercion of arms? There is no other possible alterna- "tive. Where will those who oppose a coercion of Law "come out? Where will they end? A necessary conse- "quence of this is, a war of the States, one against the "other. I am for coercion by Law; that coercion which "acts only upon the delinquent individuals. This Consti- "tution does not attempt to coerce sovereign bodies, States, "in their political capacity. No coercion is applicable to "such bodies but that of an armed force. If we should "attempt to execute the Laws of the United States by "sending an armed force against a delinquent State, it "would involve the good and the bad, the innocent and the "guilty, in one common calamity." (Ib. v. ii. p. 199.)

In the Convention of North Carolina, Mr. Davies, a mem- ber, and a delegate to the Federal Convention, "For my "own part, I know of but two ways in which the Laws can "be executed by any Government. If there be any other, "it is unknown to me. The first mode is, coercion by "military force; and the second is, coercion through the

"Judiciary. With respect to a coercion by force, I shall "suppose that it is so repugnant to the principles of justice "and the feelings of a free people, that no man will sup- "port it. It must, in the end, terminate in the destruc- "tion of the liberty of the people. I take it, therefore, "that there is no rational way of enforcing the Laws but "by the instrumentality of the Judiciary.

"If the Laws are not to be carried into execution by the "interposition of the Judiciary, how is it to be done? I "have already observed, that the mind of every honest "man, who has any feeling for the happiness of his coun- "try, must have the highest repugnance to the idea of mil- "itary coercion." (Ib. v. iv, pp 164-5.)

The great defect of the Federal Constitution was, that it provided no means for enforcing obedience to the General Government. The only remedy was military force, employed against a State, which was civil war and dissolution. The difficulty was obviated in the present Constitution, by making the Judiciary the coercive force, bearing on individuals. This remedy ignores the use of military force, except in certain cases, and under certain limitations, and only then, as an auxilliary power, in the nature of a *posse comitatus*, to aid the Judicial officer in the performance of his duty. (For this, see the Federalist, beginning with No. XV.)

Whatever may be said of these authorities, they certainly dispose of the assertion, that those who established our Government failed to provide against the present crisis, because they could not have forseen it.

The Union, unbroken, lasted for seventy years and upwards. Under it we prospered greatly. With no other nation has it ever been as with this nation. For the ra-

pidity of its growth, in territorial extent and popular numbers; in riches and power; in the diffusion of knowledge; the developement of intelligence; the cultivation of the sciences and the polite arts; it has excited the admiration or the jealousy of the civilized world.

Fearless of foreign invasion, confident of our resources, we have thought ourselves secure. Now and then dark clouds have lifted above our own horizon, but they seemed to vanish away. Harsh mutterings of domestic discord would be heard, but the sound was too remote and too faint to portend a storm, or our slumbers too deep to heed the admonition. We indulged bright visions of perpetual union, of prosperity without a serious check, and defied consequences. Consequences, are avenged; our visions have been rudely dispelled; the storm has come upon us; the temple of our worship totters to its base, and the whole land is under the deepest excitement of anger, apprehension and distress

To re-establish the Union, and retrieve our fortunes, we have resorted to war—civil war; the direst calamity which can befall any nation.

Recently, at a public meeting, one who profanely styles himself *a Divine*, invoked this war as *"a war to the knife, and the knife to the hilt."* It was a sentiment fit for the shambles. "And David said unto Gad. Let us fall now into the hands of the Lord, for His mercies are great; and let me not fall into the hand of man."

This war has now raged, with great fierceness, for more than eighteen months. The nation has engaged in it with characteristic energy and resolution. There has seemed no limit to the range of violence and destruction. The armed and the unarmed, the strong and the weak, the in-

nocent and the guilty, have been alike involved ; and much have we done, and are now doing, which is not war, but vandalism—as if to destroy, and not to restore, was the national purpose. To a very considerable degree we appear to have abandoned the established usages of civilized warfare, and to have adopted the maxims and practices of Barbarians, who "considered a state of war as a "dissolution of all moral ties, and a license for every kind "of disorder, and intemperate fierceness. An enemy was "regarded as a criminal and an outlaw, who had forfeited "his rights, and whose life, liberty and property lay at the "mercy of the conquerors. Everything done against an "enemy was held to be lawful. He might be destroyed, "though unarmed and defenceless. Fraud might be em-"ployed, as well as force, and force without any regard to "the means.

"But these barbarous rights of war have been ques-"tioned and checked in the progress of civilization Pub-"lic opinion, as it becomes enlightened and refined, con-"demns all cruelty, and all wanton destruction of life and "property as equally useless and injurious ; and it controls "the violence and severity of war, by the energy and se-"verity of its reproaches." (1 Kent's Com., sec. v., p. 90, et supr.)

In this war every material advantage has been for us, and against our adversaries.

Their land is wasted by our armies ; hordes of lawless and ill-disciplined volunteers have been let loose upon them ; permitted to lay waste, with fire and sword, and to perpetrate every species of brutality on the unprotected and helpless. Desperate battles have been fought, almost daily, some of which *were* to have been decisive of the war.

Blood runs like water. New-made graves are thickly scattered, in clusters like villages, and the land is full of sick, wounded and mutilated men.

We have blockaded their ports, and greatly straitened them, not only in the arms and munitions of war, but in the necessaries of life and health. We have laid waste their coast; ravaged and depopulated their plantations; bombarded and destroyed their exposed towns and villages; occupied and despoiled the most defenceless and inviting portions of their country. We have captured their chief city and ruled it with worse than Oriental despotism. We have armed the negroes, and set them like blood-hounds, on the track of their masters. Failing to drive their armies from the field, we boldly assault their unguarded homes, and in the performance of a two-fold duty, benevolence and revenge, seek to bring upon their woman and children, the infant and the man of gray hairs, all the realities of a San Domingo massacre. We have pronounced sentences of outlawry and confiscation against them, which threaten utter ruin to the whole people, without regard to age, sex, or condition, degrees of innocence or guilt; or the claims of survivorship and inheritance. For severity and injustice, for the magnitude of the interests against which they are intended to operate, these measures are without a paralell in the history of any civilized nation—aye, they are without a paralell in the history of the world. Whenever and wherever it was convenient, these sentences have been enforced; in many cases, prospectively—in all, without legal process, in the name of military authority.

All of these things are contrary to the usages of war; to the sentiments of the christian world; to sound justice and humanity, and to the Constitution of the United States,

which declares that "No man shall be held to answer for "a capital or other infamous crime, unless on a present- "ment or indictment of a Grand Jury, nor shall be deprived "of life, liberty, or *property*, without due process of Law;" and that "no attainter of treason shall work forfeiture ex- "cept during the life of the person attainted."

These things we have done, and more, much more, which will never be disclosed till the graves give up their dead, and men are called to answer the deeds done in the body.

And for what? To restore the Union? Well, have we restored it? Are we any nearer that consumation now than when the war began? Are we as near? No! no! no! Such questions mock us; laugh at our folly, and deride our expectations.

"I could weep for my country when I say that I fear "the Union has lost forever its cohesive power. That "power lay not so much in its arts or arms; not in what "the Union could produce or defend, but in a kind of mu- "tual recognition of the equality and brotherhood of the "great American family, 'one and indivisible.' All that "is gone. For twenty years Northern pulpits and "Northern schools have been teaching hatred to the South. "That hatred is deep, and, I think, irradicable; most as- "suredly, war is not likely to remove the evil. We have "had wars which have helped to knit us together; but a "civil war, such as we have on hand now, necessarily "uproots everything. I should be glad to believe other- "wise, but I cannot." (Extract from a letter of Hon. Thos. H. Seymour, of Conn, to Hon. Nahum Capen of Mass., July 26, 1862.)

How stand the people of the South affected by our remedial process of coercion? Do they love the Union any

better? Are they any the less united among themselves? Do they exhibit any signs of yielding, or discouragement, or irresolution? Is there any abatement of their zeal, energy and courage? Far from it. They but the more intensely abhor and loathe the Union, in whose name immeasurable violence and sufferings have been inflicted on them. Never were they more united, more determined, or more sanguine. They never manifested greater zeal, energy and devotion. Never were they inspired by loftier courage. And besides, they are aided by a spirit which cannot, in the nature of things, animate us; they fight for their lives and for their homes, and for all that makes life and home precious.

Are these our hopes of a restoration? "Do men gather grapes of thorns, and figs of thistles?"

In the letter of Hon. Robert Dale Owen, to the Hon. Salmon P. Chase, published in a recent number of the Evening Post, occurs the following passage:

"Never since the world began, did nine millions of people band together, resolutely inspired by the one idea of achieving their independence, yet fail to obtain it. It is not a century since one-third of the number successfully defied Great Britain." *

Says Mr. Everett in his letter to the Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements for the Peace Meeting to be

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* We would not misrepresent so amiable a person as Mr. Owen, and therefore feel bound to state that the extract quoted, does not form part of an argument in favor of peace, but part of an argument in favor of a "more vigorous prosecution of the war," by means of servile insurrection.

Thus, after more than eighteen months of terrible fighting and when it is supposed that the nation is inextricably committed to the war, the plot is fully disclosed by one of the apostles of the party, and we are told that this little affair of "ninety days" must fail unless we can manage to inaugurate a Dahomey Carnival, with but a slight difference in the complexion of the victims.

held in Faneuil Hall, Boston, Feb. 1861. (Dated Washington, 2d Feb., 1861.)

"To expect to hold fifteen States in the Union by force, "is preposterous. The idea of a Civil War, accompanied, "as it would be, by a servile insurrection, is too monstrous "to be entertained for a moment. If our sister States "must leave us, in the name of Heaven let them go in "Peace." *

There is a fable, of a certain contest between Sol and Boreas, for the possession of the traveler's cloak. As we remember the story:—the harder and fiercer the north wind blew, the tighter the traveler clasped his cloak; but when the wind ceased, and the Sun came out, his warm rays caused the old man to relax his hold, and, by degrees, put aside a garment which was becoming burthensome and oppresive. The fable has a moral for the times, if we would learn it.

There is a large class to whom such sentiments are far from palatable. Those busy patriots of last year's growth, whose immaculate traditions, intolerant zeal and sanguinary projects leave no question as to the quality of their conversion, see nothing but Treason in mild counsels. Their bark is Union, but their scent is blood, and they follow it with the swiftness and tenacity of instinct. Their cry is "Submission or extermination; havoc and death; burn their cities and strew the ruins with salt; lay waste by famine, fire and sword; let loose every horrible shape which violence can assume; if necessary, sweep every living thing into the Gulf of Mexico; till not a vestige of the people or

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* We make no comment on the remarkable inconsistency between the passages quoted and later efforts of the same writer, but leave the gentleman to his own conscience, and the charitable opinions of the reader.

heir posessions remain." Well might Madam Roland exclaim: "O liberty! what horrors are committed in thy name!" Charity obliges us to believe that those who rave in this manner, do it ignorantly. The ideas are monstrous! Thank God, the crime is impossible! What? Exterminate more than eight millions of free people, of the Anglo-Saxon and Gallic races—possessing a territory of more than a million and a half square miles in extent; a vast region, every way defencible by nature and art? No! We can neither exterminate, nor, by force, coerce them! But, suppose extermination possible; that we attempt it; foreign powers remain passive spectators of the tragedy; after years of bitter and exhausting strife the *feat* is accomplished; the last armed rebel has sealed his devotion with his life; the weak and defenceless, hunted, scattered like sheep before wolves, perish by the way or are driven into perpetual exile; the garden of America has become a waste of mingled blood and ashes, and resistance has ceased; the *Union* has triumphed; the victors have returned laden with spoil? What then? Will not the spoil be as the spoil of Achan—an accursed thing? Will the triumph bring renown, esteem, and a return of peaceful, prosperous, happy days? Will it restore the Union with its precious gifts? Never! never! 'Twere a mischievous delusion to believe it. The desolation we have inflicted, as an avenging spirit, will follow us; the voice of our brother's blood will cry out against us from the ground; a guilty conscience will reproach us; the keen anguish of remorse will smite us; a hissing, and a reproach, and a byword shall we become to the nations. When these evils come upon us, then shall we begin to realize the fortune

we have blasted ; the ruin we have madly invoked ; the warnings we have contemptuously slighted. Then will

> "the sense of lost happiness
> And lasting pain torment and overwhelm us ;"

reproach and recrimination, wrath and jealousy, suspicion and dislike will arise, instead of Peace.

Strange elements these, of Union between Sovereign States, whose changed relations to the whole and to each other, cause their conflicting interests to grow daily more importunate.

The old Union, with its superior benefits, half destroyed and blotted out, where is the cohesive force, to bind in one, the jarring fragments ? Shall we find it in an immense public debt ? and which of the States will pay it ? Those who allege a failure of the conditions on which it was incurred ? Those who have realized the benefits, or those who have suffered the loss ? Shall we find it in national pride ?—that is humbled to the dust—or strength and greatness ? They have passed away ; little remains of them, but the violence of the whirlwind, more dangerous to ourselves than to others. In our Liberties ? Already they have fled the Capital. In superior national benefits ? what are they ? name them. In a wronged, deluded, over-taxed and distressed people ? The allusion may well excite our apprehensions, rather than our hopes. In foreign dangers ? They are remote and speculative. Who will heed them in the turmoil of conflicting passions ? Shall we find it in the desolated South ? Unless human nature has greatly changed, history and experience greatly mistaken, those coveted possessions will prove the source of discord, jealousy and contention. In any or all of these things do

we find the full assurance of Hope for our Country ? Alas ! no ! rather the deepest despair.

In contemplating such a future, how dismal is the view,—confusion and chaos—society at war with itself—the sword of the smiter turned against his own breast. At such a spectacle, the Genius of Liberty hides her face, and, in grief, departs. The great Republic of America falls for ever, destroyed by the insane fury of her own children, who know not how to deserve or enjoy the blessings she lavished upon them.

The thunder of that fall will shake the Nations. The windows of the prison-house will be darkened ; oppression will rejoice ; Liberty and human progress will mourn for generations.

Not for all the honors, or the wealth this land can bestow, would we have on our hearts the guilt of such great ruin.

We have presented a sad, humiliating picture. When all the colors are dark and gloomy, we know not how to paint otherwise. It may be called the painting of a wild imagination ; is it a whit more extravagant than what has already occurred ?—than the events now passing before us ?

Our hope for the Country ; for the Union ; for Republican Government ; for Liberty ; is, in Peace, an early Peace. Each day the war is prolonged, makes wider and deeper the gap between the sections, adds to our demoralization, increases the burthen which threatens to bear us down.

Those there are, who in pompous and well rounded periods, protest to you that " the composition of such a

controversy is impossible." Cold-blooded suggestion, and attrocious ; it sounds as an utterance from the dark regions

> —"Where peace
> "And rest can never dwell, hope never comes,
> "That comes to all,"

and has no fellowship with any thing that is good. It is not true that the "*Composition*" of such a controversy is impossible. It is possible, with honor and advantage—without sacrifice of right or justice. The civilized world implores it, humanity and religion demand it, and say, "Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the Children of Heaven."

LINDLEY SPRING.

SOME REASONS WHY I AM OPPOSED TO THE PRESENT WAR.

First, Because war is, at best, a terrible necessity, not to be resorted to until all amicable means of settling national difficulties have been exhausted.

It is well known that ever since the election of Mr. Lincoln, the Republican party has resisted every practical suggestion in favor of peace that has been offered.

Toward the close of the last session of Congress, when a final effort was made in the Senate on behalf of the Crittenden resolutions, the motion was defeated, one of the Senators, I think his name is Hale, saying, "We have more important business on hand —we have a Tariff to pass."

Second, Because it is a civil war, of all wars the most cruel and exhausting, and the most repugnant to the sentiments of the present age.

Third, Because, if successful, it must be over the ruins of the Republic. We shall have a government, but it will not be the government of the United States.

It is an abuse of terms to speak of a Union on compulsion, "a union of equals," consisting of conquerors and conquered; besides, a government asserted by force must be maintained by force; and the power necessary to hold in subjection one-half of the country, is a standing menace to the liberties of the remainder.

Fourth, Because it cannot succeed. Eight millions of free people, inhabiting such a country as they possess, accustomed to the use of arms, fighting, as they verily believe, for their lives, and for all that makes life precious, cannot be conquered.

Fifth, Because we enter upon it without the moral support of

the great Christian nations of the earth; and in prosecuting it are very likely to embroil ourselves with them.

Sixth, Because war will not settle our difficulties; it will only aggravate them. We shall have to negotiate sooner or later, and had better do so at the threshold of a bitter war than at its close.

Seventh, Because of the spirit of lawlessness and ferocity it is creating. The hand on the dial seems to have gone three centuries backward since this war commenced.

Eighth, Because of the conditions on which it is waged; submission or extermination.

Ninth, Because it will promote the unfriendly designs of our great foreign rival in trade and power.

Tenth, Because it will prove ruinous to the city of New-York, and highly injurious to the country at large. It will load the country with a heavy national debt; withdraw the strength of our population from the pursuits of peaceful industry to a life of high excitements and irregularities; drive our commerce from the seas, or send it skulking under convoy; the healthful channels of enterprise and profit will be choked up; the capital of the country will be hoarded or absorbed by the government for warlike uses; consumers and idlers will be multiplied; producers will be diminished; property will depreciate in value; the hard-earned credit and wealth of years will vanish away; there will be a general bankruptcy; all classes will suffer; and the poor and vicious will be greatly increased. Such are some of the followers in the train of this war. How greatly will these evils be multiplied and aggravated, *in case the war should fail of its object.*

Eleventh, Because of its tendency to demoralize the government, and make it one stupendous jobbing concern for the benefit of contractors and their confederates.

Twelfth, Because the Declaration of Independence asserts the right of a people "to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of

the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitled them." "That Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of the ends for which it was instituted, it is the right of the people to alter and abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation in such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

When New-York ratified the Constitution, she expressly re-affirmed those principles, and further said, "That the powers of the Government may be re-assumed by the people whenever it shall become necessary for their happiness;" the ratifications of Rhode Island and of Virginia are to the same effect. These express conditions apply to all of the States, for all are equal.

Thirteenth, Because this government was founded on voluntary consent; to assume that it must be maintained by force, is to admit that it is a failure.

Fourteenth, Because, in waging it, we, as a people, stultify ourselves in all our pretensions to the right and capacity of self-government. We vindicate the pretensions of Great Britain in her attempts to coerce the Colonies, and maintain her government. We make our forefathers traitors, and the Declaration of Independence the round robin of a nest of conspirators against law, order and government.

It makes a world of difference whether we run with the hare, or hunt with the hounds.

Fifteenth, Because it is not, as some suppose, a war to sustain our government, but a war to compel other States, our equals, to continue members of a government they do not choose to have.

Sixteenth, Because it is a war for supremacy, and not for the Constitution; a war of desperation, and not of hope.

Thousands in the land believed that when Mr. Lincoln was

elected, the Union was lost. Subsequent events confirmed those apprehensions; but only of late has the heavy truth struck home. We begin to realize the loss. Our commercial position, if not our very existence, threatened by protection at the North, and free trade at the South, our national pretensions humbled, our visions of unbounded greatness rudely dispelled, our prosperity turned to adversity; on all sides baffled and perplexed, we yield to our passions, fly to arms, and seek those desperate courses, "which, if not victory, are yet revenge."

Seventeenth, Because it is inexpedient; and, excuse me for saying it, unnatural. Instead of making the best of our misfortunes, we are making the worst of them. Wisdom, true patriotism, high conduct, the respectable opinion of mankind, religion, all tell us: "Let these people go." Protest, if you please, (saying nothing of your own share in the business), in terms of rhetoric the most dignified and touching, against the course they have taken, and the ruin they have accomplished; but let them go; your fathers fought the battles of the Revolution shoulder to shoulder with their fathers; the ashes of your dead mingle in the soil of every State, from Maine to California; your sons have taken of their daughters to wife; ye are brethren; ye have been baptized with the same baptism—have wept at the same graves.

"And Abram said to Lot, Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee, and between my herdsmen and thy herdsmen, for we be brethren: Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me. If thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or, if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left."

Are not these imperative considerations? Let us submit to them gracefully, and put aside the arms of fratricidal strife. It was Moloch, that bloody deity, who

> "rather than be less,
> Cared not to be at all."

The sentiment was worthy of the soil. True courage speaks a

different language. Let us take counsel of sound policy and deliberate judgment, and turn from the rash conclusion of fanaticism and resentment; let us be friends, serviceable neighbors, if we cannot be fellow-citizens. If the Union is to be saved, it is not to be saved by force. If the Union be lost, it is nevertheless in our power to become close allies, and to stand before the world as one people, a mighty nation.

Let the most sanguinary mind, the liveliest imagination, endeavor to pierce the future of a contrary course, and it will vainly strive to fathom an abyss unfathomable, of woe and desolation which no pen can describe.

Eighteenth. I oppose this war because it is a war of sections; the North against the South, the stronger against the weaker, the majority in arms to compel, the minority in arms to resist. In this connection it ceases to be a question of slavery, *pro* or *con.;* or any other question save this; the right of States satisfied with the Union to compel dissatisfied States to abide by the Union, *nolens volens.* As I am convinced that a solution of this question by a resort to force was not in the bargain, and know that a suggestion to that effect was promptly rejected by the framers of the Constitution, I am obliged to oppose this war.

Nineteenth, I oppose this war, because there is no law authorizing it. These armies operating in the field; this great increase to the standing force of our national defence; this extensive sea coast and river blockade; the invasion of States, the suspension of the writ of Habeas Corpus; the seizure and confiscation of private property by military force; citizens taken by soldiery and put under martial arrest for trial, for *speaking treason;* the provost marshal superseding the sheriff; and the drum head taking the place of the jury box; these and many other acts of like character, done by the President, or under his authority, are wholly without warrant in law. George Washington was for some time Dictator, because Congress made him such. This case is without a precedent, but it makes one. When arbitrary power can be

so readily assumed, all the liberties of the people are in danger. The plea of necessity draws the sword on our adversary to-day; the like plea may turn it on ourselves to-morrow.

Twentieth, I oppose this war because it is a war of the Abolitionists and of the Republican party.

By the strongest appeals to our patriotism the national sentiment has been thoroughly roused; the whole North is in arms, and eager for battle *to sustain the* government. Who does not know that all this excitement and preparation is for the especial benefit of a certain portion of the community; in short, of those very people who after years of toil and preparation have succeeded in bringing their pleasant tragedy before the public, and who, safe behind the scenes, now chuckle over the felicitous development of the plot, and the wonderful success of the piece? Yes! the impending crisis,—the irrepressible conflict,—the long-expected day, has at length come, "Blow ye the trumpet, blow, and proclaim liberty throughout the land."

Those quandom champions of free speech and a free press, suddenly converted into blazing patriots, glow with pious heat against all freedom save their own. Those who differ with *them* are traitors; to oppose *them* is treason. In the name of the Union they have betrayed, of the Constitution they have disregarded, and of the laws they have insolently defied, those model citizens now demand of us, and of all men, to march for them to *their* tune of the Union, and wage *their* war of extermination.

I will yield to no man in my love for the Union. Heretofore, with my humble pen, to the best of my ability, I have endeavored to serve it. I am not now to be driven from well considered opinions, by the clamors or the threats of those very people who have done so much to overthrow our government and dishonor our flag. If ten thousand lives could give peace to this distracted land, and restore our glorious old Union, cheap indeed would be the purchase, and happy, thrice happy, those patriots on whom the

lot should fall. However much or little I may presume to share in these sentiments, I make bold to say, that I will not, under any pretence, aid or countenance the abominable projects of those, who having hunted the Union to death, now hound us on to her bloody obsequies, and, our general ruin.

New York, May 11, 1861.

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